CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN LAOS

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Publisher's Note

To enable foreign readers to understand the real situation in Laos and the approach of the Chinese Government and people to this question, we have collected in this book the recent materials in China concerning Laos.

It contains: a) Foreign Ministry statements on the Laotian situation; b) Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letters to the Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen; c) Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement on the Laotian question; d) Vice-Premier Chen Yi's speeches on the question of Laos; e) Editorials and commentaries on Laos from *Renmin Ribao,* in addition to news reports.

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Statement of Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, on the Refusal of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos to Continue to Implement the Geneva Agreements

(February 18, 1959)

The Prime Minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos, Phoui Sananikone, made a statement on February 11 expressing the view that the Kingdom of Laos had completely fulfilled the agreement on the cessation of hostilities as well as the other obligations assumed under the other agreements signed at the Geneva Conference by the Supreme Command of the French Union forces on behalf of the Royal Laotian Government, and that therefore the Royal Government was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements. He also opposed the resumption of the activities of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos and declared that the Kingdom of Laos would not recognize any international body other than the United Nations to act as arbiter. This statement of Prime Minister Sananikone constitutes a grave act of unscrupulous violation of the Geneva agreements and forms a part of the U.S. imperialist plot of aggression against Indo-China. Immediately after the statement of Prime Minister Sananikone was issued, the

spokesman of the U.S. Department of State indicated on February 12 that the United States supported the action taken by the Laotian Government in holding that the provisions of the Geneva accord of 1954 were no longer applicable. An official of the U.S. Department of State further expressed the view that the United States was now free to establish a military mission in Laos. This shows that it was under the direction and support of the United States that the Royal Laotian Government openly refused to continue to fulfil the duties and obligations it assumed under the Geneva agreements, and that the aim of the United States is precisely to drag the Kingdom of Laos further into the aggressive Manila bloc and turn Laos into an American military base.

It is noteworthy that even before this the U.S. Government had introduced large quantities of arms into Laos and had sent there a large batch of U.S. Air Force personnel of Philippine nationality. The Royal Laotian Government also sent a mission to take part in the U.S.-Thailand military manoeuvres held in northern Thailand from February 3 to 6. The Laotian Army Chief-of-Staff Rattakul openly declared Laos to be within the sphere of "defence" of the Manila military bloc. This series of grave events in violation of the Geneva agreements shows that U.S. military intervention in Laos is being stepped up. And this proves once more that in Laos the Geneva agreements are not only not completely fulfilled but are subjected to the crudest violation.

In these circumstances, it is all the more necessary for the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to continue to perform its duties. All the activities of the International Commission in Laos are aimed at supervising and controlling the implementation

of the Geneva agreements in Laos; they absolutely do not involve any interference in the internal affairs of Laos. Facts have proved that the continued existence and activity of the International Commission in Laos will be beneficial both to the peace of Indo-China and to the independence and peaceful unification of Laos. If they should in any way be called detrimental, that will only be to the U.S. military intervention and infiltration in Laos.

The Government of the People's Republic of China approves of and supports the views and suggestion put forward by the Soviet Union and Britain, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, in their letters dated January 31, 1959 to the Indian Government and to the International Commission in Laos, hoping that the commission may resume its activities in Laos so as to ensure the implementation of the Geneva agreements there and safeguard peace in Indo-China.

I am authorized by the Government of the People's Republic of China to declare solemnly: China, being a participant in the Geneva Conference and a neighbour of Laos, cannot but express grave concern over the fact that the United States is openly instigating and supporting the Royal Laotian Government to repudiate the Geneva agreements, creating tension in Laos and sabotaging the peace of Indo-China. The Royal Laotian Government is fully bound by the Geneva agreements. It has the duty and obligation of implementing seriously and completely the various decisions of the Geneva Conference concerning the Laotian question. The Chinese Government firmly opposes the unilateral tearing up of the Geneva agreements by the Royal Laotian Government. The Royal Laotian Government must bear all the consequences arising therefrom. The 1954 Geneva Conference and the

agreements reached at it have nothing to do with the United Nations. The schemes of the United States to sabotage the Geneva agreements and carry out military intervention in Laos are absolutely impermissible.

In view of the gravity of the situation in Laos, the Government of the People's Republic of China calls on the participants in the Geneva Conference, first of all the Soviet Union and Britain, Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the member states of the International Commissions in Indo-China, and all the countries and peoples which are interested in and seek to preserve peace in Southeast Asia to come forward to oppose and check firmly the scheme of the United States to instigate the Royal Laotian Government to repudiate the Geneva agreements, so that the International Commission in Laos may continue its activities, the tension in Laos may be eased and the peace of Indo-China preserved and consolidated.

The Geneva Agreements Must Not Be Scrapped

Renmin Ribao Editorial
(February 19, 1959)

The Prime Minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos, Phoui Sananikone, made a statement on February 11 unilaterally declaring that the Kingdom of Laos had completely fulfilled its obligations under the Geneva agreements and that therefore the Royal Laotian Government was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements. He also opposed the resumption of the activities of the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos and declared that the Kingdom of Laos would not recognize any international body other than the United Nations as arbiter. This constitutes a serious and unscrupulous violation of the Geneva agreements by Laos, instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism, in an attempt to wreck the section of the agreements concerning Laos. Peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia is being threatened. China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi issued a statement on February 18 solemnly stating the attitude of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic on this question.

Sananikone's assertion that his country has fulfilled all its obligations under the Geneva agreements has no basis in fact. It is well known that a political settlement as provided for by Article 14 of the "Agreement on the

Cessation of Hostilities in Laos" has not yet been realized; neither have steps been taken as stipulated by Article 15 to see that no acts of reprisal and no discriminative measures are used against former members of the resistance, whose freedom and democratic rights must be ensured.

The Royal Laotian Government has not completely fulfilled its obligations under the above-mentioned provisions of the Geneva agreements and, what is more, is constantly sabotaging numerous provisions of the agreements. In fact, it is still intensifying its reprisals and discrimination against former members of the resistance, and even persecuting them by various cruel means. This is an open violation of Article 15 of the Geneva agreements. Articles 4 and 5 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference clearly stipulate that the Government of Laos shall not receive foreign aid, whether in war material, personnel or instructors, and shall not join in any military alliance or establish military bases on Laotian territory for any foreign power. In its declaration at the Geneva Conference, the Royal Laotian Government stated: "The Royal Government of Laos is resolved never to pursue a policy of aggression and will never permit the territory of Laos to be used in furtherance of such a policy."

The Royal Laotian Government, however, is repudiating its obligations under the Geneva agreements and has readily agreed to the series of U.S. moves constituting military intervention in the country. This has led to serious obstruction and sabotage of the full implementation of the Geneva agreements.

The fact is, therefore, not that the Royal Laotian Government has completely fulfilled its obligations

under the Geneva agreements, but that in many respects the agreements have been constantly obstructed and rudely sabotaged by it; not that the Royal Laotian Government is no longer bound by the Geneva agreements but that it must faithfully fulfil its obligations under them.

The action of the Royal Laotian Government is inseparable from the schemes of U.S. imperialism to tear up the Geneva agreements. Recently, U.S. military intervention in Laos has become more open and frequent.

According to Western agency reports, the U.S. interventionists openly sent 82 Filipinos employed by the U.S. Government on the Clark air base in the Philippines to Laos to strengthen the U.S. air base there, and illegally supplied the Laotian Government with large quantities of arms and ammunition. In Laos, the United States also stepped up the construction of strategic highways and airfields for the use of American military planes. As a pretext to draw the armed forces of SEATO into Laos, the Laotian Army Chief-of-Staff Rattakul at U.S. instigation openly clamoured that Laos came within the "defence" sphere of the SEATO aggressive bloc and demanded that that bloc intervene in the border conflict between Viet-nam and Laos. Between .February 3 and 6 when the United States and Thailand held military manoeuvres in northern Thailand, the Royal Laotian Government sent a delegation to attend them together with Taiwan, south Viet-nam and south Korea. Admiral Harry D. Felt, Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Forces in the Pacific, recently went to Laos to carry on activities. This series of U.S. moves openly violating its own pledges on the Geneva agreements and carrying out military inter-

vention in Laos with the collusion of the Laotian authorities has created a new tension in Indo-China. On February 12, the day following Sananikone's statement scrapping the Geneva agreements, the U.S. State Department immediately issued a statement to support Sananikone. The State Department openly declared that Washington may now "freely" establish a military mission in Laos. This shows even more clearly that the grave action taken by the Royal Laotian Government in flagrantly sabotaging the Geneva agreements and openly refusing to fulfil its international obligations is inspired and supported by the United States. It is part of the latest U.S. conspiracy to intensify its military intervention and whip up tension in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

In order to sabotage and completely repudiate the Geneva agreements, Sananikone openly opposes the reactivation of the International Commission in Laos. But he can provide no legal justification for this whatsoever. On the contrary, on January 31, shortly before Sananikone's statement, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the Soviet Union and Britain, in a communication to the Indian Government, clearly affirmed the legal status of the International Commission in Laos and its terms of reference in carrying out the tasks and functions under the Geneva agreements. The two chairmen agreed that the cessation of the commission's activities at present was based on the commission's resolution which was merely a procedural decision taken to adjourn *sine die* and that no question of abrogating any of the articles of the "Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos" relating to the International Commission was involved. The commission's legal functions and authority to super-

vise the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos are, therefore, indisputable

Now that the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos is being gravely threatened and sabotaged, it is even more necessary and urgent for the International Commission to resume its functions. The activities of the commission are confined to supervising the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos and the question of interference in internal affairs does not even arise. Sananikone's allegation that the commission was interfering in the domestic affairs of Laos is a misrepresentation of the facts.

While attempting to overthrow the Geneva agreements and deny the existence of the International Commission, Sananikone drags the United Nations into his statement. This makes it even clearer that he merely wants to pave the way for further U.S. intervention in Laos and other parts of Indo-China through the United Nations.

As everyone knows, the Geneva agreements are solemn international agreements reached by the nations concerned outside the United Nations, and under circumstances in which the United Nations, due to U.S. manipulation, was incapable of solving the problem of peace in Indo-China in a fair and just manner. The nine signatory states to the Geneva agreements are responsible for supervising the complete implementation of the agreements which have nothing to do with the United Nations.

It must be pointed out that the recent situation indicates that the remnant forces of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are active within Burma and Laos are stirring up trouble in collusion with the United States and Royal Laotian Government. U.S. aircraft have repeatedly

dropped provisions and arms to the remnant Chiang Kai-shek troops in this area and thus have repeatedly violated China's territorial air. In addition the Royal Laotian Government has concluded a secret agreement with the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and agreed that a consulate of that clique be set up in Vientiane. This is a most unfriendly act of deliberate provocation by the Royal Laotian Government against the Chinese people.

The facts show clearly that the U.S. and Laotian Governments are trying to obstruct and sabotage the implementation of the Geneva agreements under the pretext that Laos has fulfilled the Geneva agreements. This also serves to facilitate open U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Laos and the enslavement of the Laotian people as well as the turning of Laos into a U.S. base so as to carry out military provocations against China, Viet-nam and other Southeast Asian countries and to create tension in Indo-China and Asia.

This situation is extremely dangerous. This reprehensible step of the Laotian authorities is in no way advantageous to the Laotian people or the Kingdom of Laos. Instead it gravely endangers the national independence, internal unity and peaceful life of Laos, and seriously menaces the peace and security of various Southeast Asian countries, first and foremost the Indo-Chinese countries.

The Geneva agreements are the foundation of peace and security for Indo-China. The implementation of the Geneva agreements as they affect Laos concerns not only the peace, unification and independence of Laos but also the peace and security of all Indo-China and Southeast Asia. Peoples of all countries who desire peace in Indo-

China and in Southeast Asia cannot ignore this aggressive scheme. and interference on the part of the United States. In a statement released on February 15, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam pointed out that the Kingdom of Laos has the obligation to carry out the Geneva agreements. This statement won the support of all countries and peoples who want to see peace and security in this area.

China was a participant in the Geneva Conference and is also a neighbour of Laos. The Chinese people have to express their deep concern over U.S. imperialists' open instigation and support of the Royal Laotian Government's attempt to tear up the Geneva agreements, create tension in Laos and wreck the peace in Indo-China. The Chinese people firmly hold that the Geneva agreements must be fully implemented and not allowed to be wrecked or abolished. The Royal Laotian Government is fully bound by the Geneva agreements. It has the full and inescapable duty and obligation to seriously and satisfactorily implement the various decisions of the Geneva agreements concerning Laos.

The present situation in Laos is grave. All people interested in peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia should take necessary action. As the Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi said in his statement, the participants in the Geneva Conference, first of all, the Soviet Union and Britain, Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, the member states of the international commissions in Indo-China, and all countries and peoples which are interested in and seek to preserve peace in Southeast Asia should take immediate action to uphold the Geneva agreements and firmly oppose and check the schemes of the United States in carrying out military intervention in Laos and

Indo-China and creating tension; the International Commission in Laos should immediately resume its activities, and supervise and stop the moves of the Governments of the United States and Laos to sabotage the Geneva agreements, so that the present grave situation in Laos may be eased and the peace of Indo-China and Southeast Asia preserved and consolidated.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Letter to Gromyko and Lloyd Concerning the Unilateral Repudiation of the Geneva Agreements by the Kingdom of Laos and the United States

(February 19, 1959)

Vice-Foreign Ministers of the People's Republic of China Lo Kuei-po and Tseng Yung-chuan separately received S. F. Antonov, Soviet Charge d'Affaires ad interim to China, and A. D. Wilson, British Charge d'Affaires to China, on February 19, 1959. They delivered to each a letter from Chen Yi, Chinese Foreign Minister, to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on the Indo-China questions, Andrei Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., and Selwyn Lloyd, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom, concerning the unilateral repudiation of the Geneva agreements by the Kingdom of Laos and the United States. They also handed to each a copy of the statement by Foreign Minister Chen Yi, released here on February 18, on the same subject.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letter to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference reads:

I have the honour to draw your attention to the statements made by Mr. Phoui Sananikone, Prime Minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos, on February 11, 1959 and by the spokesman of the U.S. Department of State on February 12, 1959 concerning the decision of

Laos to stop implementing the Geneva agreements. The Prime Minister of the Royal Laotian Government expressed the view that Laos was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements and objected to continue activity of the International Commission in Laos, while the spokesman of the U.S. Department of State not only openly supported this unilateral action in serious violation of the Geneva agreements and the peace of Indo-China, but further claimed that the United States would "freely" send a military mission to Laos. In the meantime, the U.S. Government has been introducing large numbers of military personnel and arms into Laos. These not only constitute treacherous, unlawful acts of tearing up the Geneva agreements but also run directly against the view expressed by the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference in their letters dated January 31, 1959 to the Indian Government and the Chairman of the International Commission in Laos that the International Commission in Laos should continue its activities. The Chinese Government expresses itself firmly against the unilateral repudiation of the Geneva agreements by the Kingdom of Laos and the United States.

In view of the above grave situation, the Chinese Government asks the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference to take speedy action in regard to this serious violation of the Geneva agreements so as to check the U.S. scheme of military intervention in Laos and safeguard peace in Indo-China.

Safeguard the Geneva Agreements! Defend Peace in Indo-China!

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(March 11, 1959)

The frenzied plans of aggression of U.S. imperialism which are now being stepped up, seriously threaten peace in Indo-China. Using Thailand and south Viet-nam as its bases, the U.S. is trying to put Laos completely under its control, to subvert the Royal Government of Cambodia and encircle the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam in order to seize the whole of the Indo-China peninsula, threaten the peaceful and neutral countries in Southeast Asia and menace the southern borders of China. The aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism in flagrantly sabotaging the Geneva agreements, aggravating tension in Indo-China and threatening peace and security in Southeast Asia, are becoming a more and more serious problem.

The U.S. has long hoped to seize and control the Indo-China peninsula. As far back as 1950, the U.S. tried to get its finger into the pie by taking advantage of the difficult situation in which France found itself in suppressing the national independence movements in Indo-China. This U.S. scheme, however, was frustrated by the heroic struggle of the peoples of Indo-China and the Geneva agreements concluded in July 1954. Those

agreements restored peace to Indo-China. The signatories undertook the obligation of ensuring respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet-nam, Laos and Cambodia and non-interference in their internal affairs. At the same time, the signing of the Geneva agreements played a positive role in enlarging the peace area in Asia and easing tension in the Far East. It was a tremendous victory for the peoples of Indo-China and Asia and a grave defeat for the Western colonial and imperialist forces. The Geneva agreements won the firm support of all socialist and other peace-loving countries and peoples. The Governments of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan issued statements in support of these agreements pointing out that they were an outstanding contribution to the consolidation of peace in Southeast Asia. Despite the declaration of the U.S. at the Geneva Conference that it would not resort to threats or armed force to hamper implementation of the Geneva agreements, in September of the same year it scraped together the aggressive "Southeast Asia Treaty Organization" and arbitrarily put Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia on the list of its so-called "protected areas." Since then, the U.S. ambition to lay its hands on Indo-China has become clearer day by day.

In the past four years or more, the U.S. imperialists have concentrated on trying to head the various countries in Indo-China away from national independence and peaceful neutrality. Not for one single day have they halted their sabotage plots against the Geneva agreements and their aggression and interference in the countries of Indo-China. First the U.S. stepped up its aggressive activities in south Viet-nam; it fostered the Ngo Dinh Diem clique as a tool for obstructing the national unifica-

tion of Viet-nam and extending U.S. control in Indo-China. Politically, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, backed and directed by the U.S., has not only unwarrantably refused to hold consultations between north and south Viet-nam and nation-wide general elections for realizing the common desire of the 25 million Viet-namese people to unify their country, but has frantically persecuted former resistance fighters and patriots from all strata of the population. The Phu Loi incident, in which more than a thousand political prisoners were murdered with poison, came to light not long ago; this added another example to the series of heinous crimes planned jointly by the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Militarily, the U.S. has been intensifying its interference and control in south Viet-nam. It has established military bases in south Viet-nam and there are nearly two thousand U.S. military advisers among Ngo Dinh Diem's troops. Between December 3 and 24, 1958 alone, the U.S. introduced 3,900 tons and over one thousand crates of war materials into south Viet-nam. Large numbers of U.S. and south Viet-nam armed military personnel have intruded again and again into the demilitarized zone to carry out provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam and create tension. Moreover, the U.S. has ordered the puppet south Viet-nam regime to send so-called "observers" to the meetings of the Manila treaty bloc and its military exercises. All this violates the provisions of the Geneva agreements.

Three years after Laos signed the Geneva agreements, political agreement was reached between the Pathet Lao fighting units and the Royal Laotian Government and the Geneva agreements were being carried out. But the U.S. instigated the pro-American reactionary forces in

Laos to bring pressure to bear on the Laotian Government and to demand that it tear up the Geneva agreements and renounce its neutral policy. Since Sananikone took power in Laos in August last year, he has followed a policy of subservience to U.S. imperialism and open betrayal of the Geneva agreements. He has stepped up persecution of the patriotic democratic forces, undermined the political agreement for internal peace and unity and placed Laos further under the military, political and economic control of the U.S. The U.S. has increased its military aid to Laos, sent large quantities of new weapons and U.S. Air Force personnel of Philippine nationality to that country, built strategic highways and airfields and established U.S. military bases there. For some time now, Laos has been stepping up its military provocations against the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, created border incidents and, using these incidents as pretexts, vociferously spread slanders about the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam carrying out "aggression." On the other hand, it has repeatedly rejected the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam that the two sides negotiate a settlement of the border disputes. This is obviously in co-ordination with U.S. aggressive activities throughout Indo-China. Early in January this year when Laos raised a clamour about "intrusions" into its border areas by the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, the U.S. propaganda machine smugly declared that "any fighting in the area might lead to action by the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization." The Laotian Army Chief-of-Staff Rattakul then issued a statement to U.S. pressmen asking SEATO to send an observer to Laos. On January 18, the Laotian ambassador to Thailand, Chao Kampan, declared that he would ask for SEATO aid. On February

11, the Laotian Prime Minister Sananikone himself came out to state that Laos was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements. The U.S. State Department immediately expressed support for him on the following day and declared that from now on the U.S. was free to set up a military mission in Laos. Recently, the Royal Laotian Government was openly ordered to send "observers" to attend the military exercises of the aggressive SEATO bloc. All this has clearly exposed to the world the U.S. plot of using the reactionary Laotian authorities to create tension in Indo-China, tear up the Geneva agreements and drag Laos further into the SEATO military bloc.

The Royal Cambodian Government has consistently observed the Geneva agreements, unswervingly followed a policy of peace and neutrality and made important contributions to safeguarding peace in Indo-China. But this has greatly incensed U.S. imperialism which is trying hard to seize all Indo-China. Since 1958 the south Vietnam forces have encroached upon Cambodia's borders on scores of occasions. Repeated provocations against Cambodia also have come from Thailand. The Cambodian traitor Son Ngoc Thanh organized the so-called "Free Khmer" armed clique, and sought a chance to seize the border provinces and set up a "free government." In January this year, the Cambodian Government unearthed a traitorous clique headed by Sam Sary. Late in February, it unearthed another case of treason committed by Chhuon Mochulpich, military commander of Siemreap Province. The connections between U.S. imperialism and all these aggressive provocations and subversive activities are known to everybody. The Cambodian Government and people have successively smashed conspiratorial schemes hatched both inside and outside of the country,

and safeguarded the independence and sovereignty of Cambodia. However, U.S. imperialism is still trying by every means to obstruct implementation of the Geneva agreements in Cambodia and sabotage the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Royal Cambodian Government.

The Geneva agreements are the foundation of peace in Indo-China and the safeguard of the independence and sovereignty of the Indo-China states. They are a vital link in the peaceful co-existence among the Asian nations. Since the Geneva agreements first came into force, a stiff struggle has been waged between the forces of peace and the forces of imperialism. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, the Royal Cambodian Government and the Laotian patriotic democratic forces have made consistent and tireless efforts to carry out and uphold the agreements. They have the support of the peoples in the Indo-China states and the peace-loving peoples of Asia and throughout the world. The international commissions concerned have made corresponding efforts to this end. On the other hand, the U.S. has all along taken a hostile stand in opposing and undermining the Geneva agreements. It uses the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in south Viet-nam and influential circles in Thailand as its pawns, colludes with the pro-U.S. quarters in Laos headed by Sananikone to control the political situation there and threatens and intimidates the Royal Government of Cambodia, in an attempt to push the whole of Indo-China on to the dangerous path of war. It must be pointed out that the present intensified activities of U.S. imperialism to interfere in and control the Indo-China states are closely connected and co-ordinated with its intensified activities in pursuing a policy of aggres-

sion and war throughout Asia. At the same time as the U.S. announced its signing of bilateral military agreements with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey and further harnessed these countries to the U.S. war machine, large-scale military exercises directed by the U.S. were held in Thailand in an attempt to intimidate the Indo-China and Southeast Asian countries. Instigated by the U.S., the Ngo Dinh Diem clique carried out harassing activities on China's Hsisha Islands. The remnant armed units of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which are active in Laos, have also stepped up their harassing activities and sabotage on the borders of China's Yunnan Province. It is therefore clear that the U.S. schemes of interference and aggression now being carried out in Indo-China, especially in Laos, are an important component part of the overall U.S. plot to create tension in Asia. It is very clear that upholding the Geneva agreements and stopping the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism aimed at seizing the whole of Indo-China is a matter of direct concern for peace and security not only of the peoples in Indo-China but of Southeast Asia and throughout the Asian region.

China is a participant in the Geneva agreements. It has consistently devoted its efforts to upholding those agreements. The aggressive U.S. plan to seize the whole of Indo-China peninsula directly menaces the security of China. The Chinese people, therefore, cannot but express justified concern over the grave situation that has now emerged in the Indo-China peninsula, particularly in Laos. The Chinese Government has issued a statement on this question and addressed a letter to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, calling for a stop to U.S. and Laotian actions undermining the Geneva agreements and urging

the International Commission in Laos to continue its functions of supervision and control. The Chinese people fully support the struggles of the peoples of the Indo-China states to safeguard their independence and sovereignty and oppose foreign interference. They certainly will not allow the U.S. imperialists to carry through their plots to control the whole of Indo-China and further threaten the security of neighbouring countries. The Geneva agreements must be upheld. Peace in Indo-China must be safeguarded. This is the unanimous demand of the peoples of all countries in Indo-China and the inescapable responsibility of all countries participating in the Geneva Conference. It is also the most urgent common task of all countries and peoples in Southeast Asia who cherish peace and independence.

Under the Instigation of the United States the Laotian Authorities Carried Out Provocations Against China in Collusion with the Remnant Chiang Kai-shek Troops

For six months past remnant Chiang Kai-shek troops operating in Phong Saly and Houi-sai Provinces in Laos have been continually invading China's border areas in Yunnan Province. Available evidence proves that these troops in their operations have been getting active support and material aid from the Laotian authorities.

The Laotian authorities have allowed these Chiang troops to establish secret bases on the northern Laotian borders and to muster, train and expand their forces there. They have provided the Chiang troops with food and ammunition, connived at their activities and instigated them to invade Chinese villages on the Yunnan border on many occasions, creating disturbances and engaging in pillage and espionage. Last September, when the remnant Chiang Kai-shek troops who had been harassing Burmese territory, invaded China's border areas in Yunnan Province along several routes, the Laotian authorities allowed them to pass through Laotian territory. The commander of the Laotian troops stationed in Muong Xin also offered the Chiang troops the use of a special ferry on the Mekong River and invited the chief of that contingent of the Chiang troops to plan military operations jointly.

The Laotian authorities also handed over to the Chiang troops large quantities of ammunition which had been air-dropped by U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek planes on to Laotian territory in the first half of last year. Last December, the Laotian military authorities reached a secret agreement with the remnant Chiang troops permitting them to use Laos as a base for receiving supplies air-dropped for them by the United States and for harassing China's border areas in Yunnan Province.

Laotian military aircraft have also actively co-operated with these remnant Chiang troops by intruding into China's territorial air on many occasions, to carry out low-altitude reconnaissance and create disturbances. An incomplete count shows that nine groups of Laotian military aircraft have intruded into China's territorial air since last September. On October 21, 1958 alone, three aircraft intruded into the Yiwu, Mengman and Kiangcheng areas of China. On January 16 and 23 of this year, Laotian military planes again intruded into the Mengla area in China, carrying out low-altitude reconnaissance and creating disturbances.

The Laotian authorities have also been colluding with the secret agents' organizations of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, permitting them to use the Muong Xin area in Laos to carry out espionage and sabotage activities against China. On many occasions, they have taken advantage of trade contacts across the border to send special agents to China's border areas in Yunnan Province to collect information, spread rumours and instigate riots.

These above-mentioned provocations by the Laotian authorities in collusion with the remnant Chiang troops along the borders of Yunnan are supported and engineered by the U.S. imperialists. Members of the U.S. military

advisory group and economic inspection mission have been active in the region of Muong Xin and Nam Tha in Laos near the border of Yunnan in the past six months. U.S. secret agents have established permanent organizations in that region under the guise of performing medical services.

The United States is plotting for the remnant Chiang Kai-shek troops and the pro-U.S. forces in Laos to provoke conflicts on the Sino-Laotian border with the aim of creating a pretext for gradually bringing about armed intervention by the United States and the aggressive SEATO bloc and for dragging Laos step by step into that bloc in open or secret form.

(Hsinhua News Agency, March 13, 1959)

Whither the Laotian Government?

By a *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

(March 14, 1959)

The recent hostile actions of the Royal Laotian Government against the Chinese people further points up the gravity of the current situation in Laos and Indo-China as a whole.

These extremely unfriendly acts towards the Chinese people by the Royal Laotian Government violate the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the resolutions and spirit of the Bandung Conference. They also violate the joint statement signed by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and the then Premier of the Kingdom of Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma, on August 25, 1956.

It must be pointed out that the actions of the Royal Laotian Government, which undermine friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries and run counter to the interests of the Laotian people, are by no means fortuitous. They are closely related to the new scheme of the U.S. imperialists to bring the whole of Indo-China under their control.

Recently, the U.S. imperialists have intensified their aggressive activities against the Indo-China states and aggravated tension in this area. They are attempting to scrap the Geneva agreements completely, drag south Vietnam and Laos one way or another into the Manila military

bloc, and actively conduct subversive activities in Cambodia, so as to achieve their aggressive aim of controlling the whole of Indo-China and menacing the peaceful and neutral countries in Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, they are actively instigating the Laotian authorities and using the remnant troops of the Chiang Kai-shek army to provoke conflicts on the borders of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam as a pretext for further military intervention by the United States and the aggressive SEATO bloc.

Laos occupies a very important place in the U.S. plan for aggression against Indo-China. Having subjected Thailand and south Viet-nam to its control, the United States is actively trying to turn Laos into another military base with a view to isolating and then subverting the Royal Cambodian Government, threatening the Viet-nam Democratic Republic and engaging in provocations against China. If the U.S. scheme succeeds, the area of peace in Indo-China, created by the Geneva agreements and the efforts of peaceful and neutral nations in Southeast Asia, will be completely disrupted and Asia will be enveloped in new tensions. All nations and peoples interested in peace in Indo-China and Asia as a whole must face up to this present grave situation.

The Chinese people have all along advocated peaceful co-existence and friendly relations with neighbouring countries. Peaceful co-existence between the two neighbouring countries, China and Laos, development of their friendly relations and their combined efforts to consolidate peace in Indo-China fully conform to the interests of both peoples. The Geneva Conference in 1954, the Bandung Conference in 1955 and the joint statement of the Governments of China and Laos in 1956 fully testify

to this. The Chinese people resolutely oppose any activity aimed at undermining the friendship between the Chinese and Laotian peoples and endangering peace in this area. Such activity is also detrimental to the interests of the Laotian people. In his statement of February 18, China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi expressed the just attitude of the Chinese Government and people on the Royal Laotian Government's overt attempt to tear up the Geneva agreements.

The recent activities of the Royal Laotian Government in conniving at and colluding with the remnant forces of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in conducting military provocations and violating China's border areas arouse the grave concern of the Chinese people. They cannot but remind the Royal Laotian Government that it must immediately cease these violations of the joint statement of the Governments of China and Laos. Continuance of this situation and the resultant consequences will bring no good to the Kingdom of Laos.

To fulfil the Geneva agreements and march along the road of peace and neutrality? Or to continue to connive at and collude with the remnant Chiang Kai-shek troops against the interests of the Laotian people and the principles of peaceful co-existence and accept the grave consequences of this? The Royal Laotian Government should be able to show wisdom in making its choice.

The International Commission in Laos Must Continue to Function

By a *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

(March 27, 1959)

The Foreign Ministry of the U.S.S.R. issued a statement on March 25 expressing the anxiety of the Soviet Union over the situation in Laos and proposing that the two chairmen of the Geneva Conference ask the International Commission in Laos to resume its practical work, as quickly as possible, in supervising and controlling the implementation of the Geneva agreements concerning Laos. Unquestionably, the responsible attitude of the Soviet Union, one of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, in upholding the Geneva agreements is warmly supported and sincerely welcomed by the people of China and by all other countries and their people who are concerned about peace in Indo-China.

The British Government, the other Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, has a similar solemn duty to uphold the Geneva agreements. After making the proposal to the British Government, the Soviet Government is waiting for the reply. People the world over, who wish to see peace maintained in Indo-China, particularly the people of countries closely concerned with the situation there, are also looking forward to a reply from Britain. This is perfectly understandable.

We all remember that on January 31 the British and Soviet Governments jointly wrote to the Indian Government expressing their view that the indefinite recess of the International Commission in Laos was only a question of procedure and did not in the least imply the dissolution of the commission. They also expressed the opinion that no mention had ever been made in any form of the abrogation of any provision in the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos concerning the International Commission, particularly Article 39. Finally the two chairmen expressed their hope that India, the Chairman of the International Commission in Laos, would continue as before to promote the activities of the commission in the interests of peace in Indo-China. It can be seen that both the two chairmen of the Geneva Conference recognized that the International Commission in Laos should continue to assume obligations of supervising and controlling the implementation of the Geneva agreements. However, according to an Agence France Presse dispatch from London dated February 20, British official circles, at a time when the situation in Laos was deteriorating and the Geneva agreements were seriously threatened, did not think there was any need to reconvene the International Commission to take appropriate measures. On March 25, authoritative circles in Britain revealed that the British Government held that in view of the fulfilment of the task of the International Commission, it had no longer any justification for its continued existence. These reports could not but arouse anxiety. We hope that the British Government, in consideration of the serious situation in Laos, will faithfully observe its solemn obligations to the Geneva agreements

and give an affirmative reply to the Soviet Government's note as soon as possible.

Recently, the situation in Laos has seriously deteriorated because the Laotian authorities, under the instigation of the United States, have carried out a series of activities in violation of the Geneva agreements. Having declared that they were no longer bound by the Geneva agreements, they openly announced that beginning from March 20 the planes of the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Viet-nam flying between Saigon and Hanoi would not be allowed to make the stop-over in Laos. At the same time, they attempted to cover up their violation of the Geneva agreements, their intensified persecution of the members of the former Pathet Lao fighting units, their granting of permits for large quantities of U.S. arms and ammunition to enter Laos, and their acceptance of U.S. military personnel, establishment of military bases and so forth. The *Laohaksat* pointed out on February 28 that the members of the former Pathet Lao fighting units were being cruelly persecuted, and peace in Laos was threatened. Even the correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Gordon Walker, revealed that the members of the former Pathet Lao fighting units would be indefinitely detained in a place like a concentration camp. This was not all. Taking advantage of its increasing domination over Laos, U.S. imperialism intensified its instigation of the pro-American forces in Laos to provoke the Viet-nam Democratic Republic and to collaborate with the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek troops in Laos to attack China's border areas. The U.S. aim is to completely tear up the Geneva agreements and dominate the peaceful, neutral countries in Indo-China so as to intensify its

aggression in this area and create tension in Southeast Asia. The United States makes no secret of its schemes. In an editorial on March 9, the *New York Times* suggested that the U.S. can now train up 25,000 Laotian soldiers and that Laos can freely join the SEATO. All this shows that the demands made by the *Laohaksat* that the International Commission in Laos should be immediately convened and should continue to function in order to preserve peace in Indo-China and uphold the Geneva agreements fully conform with the interests of peace in Indo-China and should secure the sympathy and support of all countries which participated in the Geneva Conference.

It should be said that the attitude expressed by India, Chairman of the International Commission in Laos, is worthy of welcome. On March 9, Indian President Prasad pointed out that the members of the International Commission would fully co-operate with each other and would secure the co-operation of the Laotian Government to maintain peace. Indian Deputy Foreign Minister Madame Menon also said on March 11 that the Indian Government would endeavour to enable the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos to handle the related questions concerning the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos according to the views expressed by the two chairmen of the Geneva Conference in their recent letter to the Indian Government. The Indian Government has in the past made significant contributions to the upholding of the Geneva agreements, and we are confident that, at this important moment, it will continue to make further contributions to peace in Indo-China.

It is only natural that as a signatory to the Geneva agreements and a neighbour of Laos, China is particularly interested in peace in Indo-China. *Radio Vientiane* recently distorted the efforts of the Chinese people to defend the Geneva agreements as "interference" in the internal affairs of Laos. This cannot but arouse the indignation of the Chinese people. In foreign relations, the Chinese people have all along stood for a good-neighbour policy and the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and sincerely hope to maintain and develop peaceful and friendly relations with all their neighbours including Laos. But they will never permit the United States to sabotage the implementation of the Geneva agreements and carry out its plot of expanding aggression. On the basis of this stand, the Chinese people resolutely demand that the Geneva agreements must be fully implemented in Laos. The Chinese people firmly oppose the Laotian authorities' continued violations of the Geneva agreements and their threat to peace in Indo-China under the direction of the United States. This is the Chinese people's solemn duty to the Geneva agreements, a matter that directly concerns their own interests.

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

(May 18, 1959)

On May 16, 1959 the Government of the Kingdom of Laos announced that it had on May 11 ordered two battalions of the former Pathet Lao fighting units to surrender their arms within 24 hours on penalty of being punished for treason. At the same time, the leaders of the former Pathet Lao fighting units, including Prince Souphanouvong, were placed under close surveillance and house arrest by the army and police of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos. This act by the Government of the Kingdom of Laos completely tears up the Geneva agreements and is even more serious than its open, unilateral repudiation of the Geneva agreements on Laos on February 11 this year. It is also a part of the whole plot of the U.S. imperialists to create tension in Southeast Asia and invade Indo-China. The Government of the People's Republic of China cannot but strongly protest against and condemn such action.

Under direct U.S. instigation and support, the Phoui Sananikone government of Laos has, in violation of the Geneva agreements, opposed continued performance of duties by the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, repudiated the various agreements it concluded with the former Pathet Lao fighting units,

and continuously persecuted and attempted to eliminate the former Pathet Lao fighting units and their leaders; on the other hand, it has brought in large numbers of U.S. military personnel and large quantities of arms and ammunition and, in collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique's remnant armed forces and the south Viet-nam Ngo Dinh Diem clique, engineered military schemes and carried out armed provocations against the Chinese and Viet-namese borders adjacent to Laos. It is evident that the aim of the United States and the Laotian authorities is to drag Laos into the aggressive SEATO bloc and to turn it into a U.S. military base. All these actions by the Government of the Kingdom of Laos have created an extremely dangerous situation in Laos and Indo-China.

The present measures taken by the Government of the Kingdom of Laos against the former Pathet Lao fighting units are tantamount to the open launching of a civil war in Laos and proceeding further to sabotage peace in Indo-China and aggravate tension in Southeast Asia. If the Laotian authorities do not stop promptly before it is too late, not only will Laos be drawn into the whirlpool of a civil war, but the peace of Indo-China will be seriously endangered as well. All the countries and peoples who are interested in and desire to preserve peace in Southeast Asia should, therefore, come forward to oppose firmly and stop the actions of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos instigated by the United States in repudiating the Geneva agreements and creating a civil war in Laos.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China solemnly declares that China, as a participant in the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, a guarantor for the Geneva agreements, and a close neigh-

bour of the Kingdom of Laos, naturally cannot look on with indifference at the serious actions of the Government of the Kingdom of Laos in completely repudiating the Geneva agreements and endangering peace in Indo-China. The Chinese Government deems it necessary to point out solemnly that the Geneva agreements must be observed, and the Government of the Kingdom of Laos must stop at once its sabotage of the Geneva agreements and persecution of the former Pathet Lao fighting units with a view to provoking a civil war in Laos, otherwise, it has to shoulder all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

Royal Laotian Government Should Call a Halt Before It Is Too Late

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(May 20, 1959)

The situation in Laos is developing in a most dangerous way and the peaceful Laotian population of three million are confronted with the grave threat of civil war. According to a Vientiane broadcast, the Royal Laotian Government announced on May 16 that it had on May 11 ordered that two battalions of the former Pathet Lao fighting units should hand over their arms within twenty-four hours, or face a charge of rebellion against the country. At present, the Laotian authorities have deployed large numbers of troops in surrounding the former Pathet Lao fighting units in an attempt to disarm them; the leaders of these fighting units, including Prince Souphanouvong, have been placed under close surveillance and house arrest; members of the Neo Lao Haksat Party are being arrested by the Laotian local authorities in large numbers. It is revealed that these measures adopted by the Laotian Government against the former Pathet Lao fighting units are only a part of the plot for a large-scale military coup; that the Laotian authorities, following the annihilation of the two battalions of the former Pathet Lao fighting units, will launch a general attack

on the Neo Lao Haksat Party, ban its organ, declare it illegal, and go all out to arrest and kill off its members.

The Royal Laotian Government has by now completely scrapped the 1954 Geneva agreements, and its agreements with the Pathet Lao fighting units reached in 1956 and 1957. It is in fact provoking another civil war in the country and scuttling peace and security in Indo-China as a whole. In its Declaration at the Geneva Conference on July 21, 1954, the Royal Laotian Government pledged that it "resolved to take the necessary measures to integrate all citizens, without discrimination, into the national community and to guarantee them the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms for which the Constitution of the Kingdom provides." In the Agreement between the Political Delegation of the Royal Laotian Government and the Political Delegation of the Pathet Lao Forces of December 24, 1956, it is clearly stated that "there be a guarantee of the civic rights for the 'Pathet Lao' and former participants of the resistance without discrimination"; and stipulated that all acts assuming a character of discrimination, reprisal or prohibition against them "shall be filed before the Tribunal as acts of national division, acts of sabotage of the unity of the fatherland and as infringements of democratic freedoms and civic rights of the people." As further clarified in the Joint Communique issued on November 2, 1957 by the then Prime Minister of the Royal Laotian Government, H. H. Prince Souvanna Phouma, and the leader of the Pathet Lao fighting units, H. H. Prince Souphanouvong, both sides agreed that a coalition government with the participation of representatives of the Pathet Lao fighting units would be formed; that the Neo Lao Haksat Party would carry

out legal political activities as other political parties in the Kingdom of Laos; that the Pathet Lao fighting units should hand over to the Royal Laotian Government the provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua in northern Laos, where they were stationed, while the Royal Laotian Government should undertake to integrate them all in the National Army. Today, the Laotian authorities have written off by a stroke all their obligations and all their solemn pledges.

It is by no means fortuitous that the Laotian authorities should have unscrupulously embarked on large-scale military persecution of the former Pathet Lao fighting units. It is the outcome of the United States' behind-the-scene manoeuvres which have been going on for a long time. It is part and parcel of the overall plot of the United States to breed tension in Southeast Asia and seize Indo-China. At the SEATO Council meeting held in Wellington at the beginning of last April, the participants led by the Washington schemers had openly listed Laos as the "front line" of this aggressive organization. In order to turn Laos into a base from where to seize the whole of Indo-China, which is the design of the American imperialists, the Wellington meeting secretly discussed the question of the political and economic situation in Laos and the requirement of a larger military force. They even worked out a "blueprint" for the aggression on Laos. Around that time, the United States on the one hand urged the Sananikone government of Laos to wreck the Geneva agreements, oppose the International Commission in Laos continuing to perform its duties, repudiate the various agreements it had concluded with the Pathet Lao fighting units, and persecute and attempt to liquidate the personnel of the former Pathet

Lao fighting units. On the other hand, the United States sent military personnel and large quantities of arms and ammunitions to Laos and built military bases there. Moreover, it instigated the Royal Laotian Government to collude with the Chiang Kai-shek remnant forces in Laos and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, to engage in military provocations against China and the Viet-nam Democratic Republic.

The Geneva agreements, the basis for peace and security in Indo-China, have been totally repudiated in Laos and peace in Indo-China is being seriously threatened as a result of the current situation in Laos. The People's Republic of China, as a participating nation of the Geneva Conference on the Indo-China question, a guarantor state for the Geneva agreements and a close neighbour of Laos, cannot look with indifference upon the serious acts of the Royal Laotian Government in completely repudiating the Geneva agreements and endangering peace in Indo-China. The statement issued by the Chinese Foreign Ministry on May 18 solemnly pointed out that the Geneva agreements must be observed, and the Government of the Kingdom of Laos must stop at once its sabotage of the Geneva agreements and persecution of the former Pathet Lao fighting units with a view to provoking a civil war in Laos, or it will have to shoulder all the grave consequences arising therefrom. This expresses the unanimous demand of the peace-loving Chinese people as a whole who are determined to defend the Geneva agreements.

The Chinese people appeal to all nations and people who are keenly interested in the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia, to come forward together to oppose and stop the Royal Laotian Government from scrapping the Geneva agreements and starting a civil war in its coun-

try at the instigation of the United States. The Chinese people express their deep regret for the fact that the International Commission in Laos has been unable to discharge its duties of controlling and supervising the implementation of the Geneva agreements in Laos. Early in February of this year, following the open declaration of Prime Minister Sananikone of the Royal Laotian Government that Laos was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements, the Government of the People's Republic of China had pointed out that for the sake of keeping a close watch on and putting a stop to the schemes and activities of the United States and the Laotian Government in repudiation of the Geneva agreements, and to mitigate the serious situation in Laos the International Commission should at once resume its activities. The Viet-nam Democratic Republic, as a signatory to the Geneva agreements and a close neighbour of Laos, has also repeatedly put forward the same demand. Poland, which is a member country of the International Commission in Laos, has ardently advocated the resumption of the activities of the Commission. India has stated that it is in favour of the opinion expressed in the note of the Soviet Chairman to the British Chairman of the Geneva Conference with regard to the resumption of the activities of the International Commission in Laos. These efforts, however, were obstructed as a result of the pressure exerted behind the scenes by the United States, and consequently, the Commission remains inactive. This has in reality emboldened the Royal Laotian Government to go further in trampling upon the Geneva agreements and openly provoke civil war. It has become an urgent necessity for the International Commission of

Control and Supervision in Laos to resume its functions at once so as to stop the United States and the Royal Laotian Government from aggravating further the current tension in Indo-China. The Commission must undertake once again its tasks and functions as stipulated in the Geneva agreements.

It is our opinion that the solemn statement of the Chinese Government and the righteous voice of the Chinese people should be regarded with attention by the Royal Laotian Government. It is now a crucial moment for the Laotian Government to call a halt before it is too late.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Letter to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference Concerning the Royal Laotian Government's Armed Attack on the Former Pathet Lao Fighting Units

(May 25, 1959)

Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, has written to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, Andrei Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., and Selwyn Lloyd, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, concerning the Royal Laotian Government's armed attack on the former Pathet Lao fighting units and its placing of the leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party under close surveillance and house arrest. In his letter Chen Yi asked that the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, as participants in the Geneva Conference, and particularly as the Co-Chairmen of the Conference, should adopt measures at once to stop these grave activities of the Royal Laotian Government in violating the Geneva agreements, and instruct the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to meet and resume its activities at once.

On May 25, 1959, Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letter was delivered to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference through P. F. Yudin, Soviet Ambassador to China, and A. D. Wilson, British Charge d'Affaires to China.

The text of the letter reads:

I have the honour to draw your attention to my letter to you dated February 19, 1959 on the unilateral tearing up of the Geneva agreements by the Kingdom of Laos. Since then the situation in Laos, instead of showing any improvement, has continued to deteriorate. Recently, owing to the actions of the Royal Laotian Government designed to eliminate the former Pathet Lao fighting units, the situation has grown even more serious. In utter disregard of the Geneva agreements and the agreements concluded between the Royal Laotian Government and the former Pathet Lao fighting units in December 1956 and November 1957, the Phoui Sananikone government on May 11, 1959 ordered the disarming of the two battalions of the former Pathet Lao fighting units. At the same time, the army and police of the Royal Laotian Government surrounded the residences of the leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party and the former Pathet Lao fighting units, placing them under close surveillance and house arrest. These constitute the gravest violations of the Geneva agreements.

At the direct instigation and with the direct support of the United States the Royal Laotian Government has taken its present measures against the Neo Lao Haksat Party and the former Pathet Lao fighting units. These actions are rekindling the flames of war which were extinguished for several years; they pose a serious threat to the peace of Indo-China and greatly aggravate tension in Southeast Asia. As a participant in the 1954 Geneva Conference and a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, the People's Republic of China naturally cannot look on at this with indifference.

Mr. Pham Van Dong, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, has formally re-

quested the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference to adopt urgent and effective measures to ensure that the Geneva agreements on Laos be respected and thoroughly implemented. I consider this request entirely proper and reasonable. I likewise hold that at this critical moment the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, as participants in the 1954 Geneva Conference, and particularly as the Co-Chairmen of the Conference, should adopt measures at once to stop these grave actions of the Royal Laotian Government violating the Geneva agreements so as to uphold the Geneva agreements and peace in Indo-China, and instruct the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to meet and resume its activities at once.

A Warning to the Reactionaries of Thailand

By a *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

(May 30, 1959)

The long-standing intrigues of the Thai authorities, acting under instructions from U.S. imperialism, to instigate the Laotian reactionaries to tear up the Geneva agreements, launch a civil war and drag Laos into the Manila military bloc have recently become more barefaced.

As early as February 1955, Thailand sent a military delegation to Laos to incite the Royal Laotian Army to attack the former Pathet Lao fighting units and work hand in glove with the remnant Chiang Kai-shek troops roving along the Laotian-Thai borders to harass the border of Yunnan Province of China. Thailand then intended to turn Laos into a *de facto* member of the Manila bloc. The Thailand Delegation declared that it was necessary to discuss the question of the relations between Thailand and Laos in connection with mutual defence.

Many subsequent events prove that the Thai authorities are becoming the most active accomplice of the U.S. imperialists in their aggression against the people of Indo-China. It is common knowledge that the Cambodian rebellion which was defeated three or four months ago was carried out from bases in Thailand and South

Viet-nam. Almost all the major U.S. intrigues in Laos have been closely connected with Thailand and in not a few cases Thailand has been the cat's-paw. In violation of the Geneva agreements, for instance, the United States shipped large quantities of weapons and munitions to Laos via Thailand. This has long been admitted by members of the U.S. International Co-operation Administration. The abortive U.S. plot to split Laos and turn Lower Laos into an "independent state" or a dependency of Thailand was conducted by Thai agents in collaboration with Katay Dan Sasorith of Laos. When the United States put economic pressure upon the Phouma government which advocated peace and neutrality, Thailand, following suit, blockaded the Laotian frontier and detained goods destined for Laos. The U.S. manoeuvres to drag Laos into the Manila bloc have had the even more active collaboration and support of the reactionary authorities of Thailand. In January this year, shortly before Sananikone announced his repudiation of the Geneva agreements, the Thai authorities called loudly upon the Manila bloc to intervene in Laos. In April this year, Thanad Korman, the Foreign Minister of Thailand, at the Wellington Conference called for greater military aid to Laos from the Manila bloc. He considered that after the unilateral repudiation of the Geneva agreements by the Sananikone government Laos was "free" to accept foreign "aid." Korman also held that the political system of Laos was "impotent" and proposed that a "blueprint" should be drawn up for the country. What sort of blueprint was this? Following the Wellington Conference, the Thai authorities actively started talks with the pro-American Laotian reactionaries, making no secret of the fact that they were plotting a military coup

in Laos. Sure enough, on May 11, the Laotian authorities ordered the disarming of the two battalions of the former Pathet Lao fighting units which had been incorporated into the Royal Laotian Army. The Laotian authorities also put the leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party and those of the former Pathet Lao fighting units under close surveillance and house arrest. On May 20, Khamthan Panya, Foreign Minister of Laos, went to South Viet-nam to discuss the establishment of a military alliance and the construction of strategic roads and military bases. At the same time Panya announced that he would soon declare the Neo Lao Haksat Party illegal. On May 28, shortly after Panya's talks in South Viet-nam, the Thai Foreign Minister Korman went to Laos to meet him to give finishing touches to the tripartite military alliance of Thailand, Laos and South Viet-nam. So the true nature of Korman's "blueprint" was fully revealed. It involved the complete scrapping of the Geneva agreements and the democratic agreements concluded inside Laos, the launching of a civil war, the undermining of national unity, and the repudiation of a foreign policy in favour of peace and neutrality. It was designed to join Thailand, Laos and south Viet-nam in a military alliance as quasi-members of the Manila war bloc so as to enable the United States to encroach further upon the whole of Indo-China and threaten the peace of Southeast Asia and the Far East.

We must be alert to the fact that Thailand, Laos and South Viet-nam (as well as the Cambodian traitor Sam Sary) are in constant contact with each other in Lower Laos, that a strategic road linking up the three countries across the Indo-China peninsula is now under construction and that work is going quickly ahead for the

establishment of a large U.S. military base in Lower Laos.

The rapid deterioration of the situation in Laos and the U.S. measures to organize a military alliance, set up military bases and prepare for further aggression in Indo-China not only gravely undermine the peace of Indo-China and threaten the security of the neighbouring countries of Thailand, Laos and South Viet-nam, but constitute a serious threat to the peace of Southeast Asia and the Far East. That is why the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, the People's Republic of China and the governments and peoples of other peace-loving countries have time and again sounded warnings about this situation and demanded that an immediate end be put to the criminal activities of the United States and its accomplices, the Thai and South Viet-nam authorities, so that the situation may return to normal. At the same time, we must warn the Thai authorities that their sabotage of the Geneva agreements, their organization of a military alliance between Thailand, Laos and South Viet-nam, and their willingness to act as an accomplice and pawn of the U.S. imperialist aggressors will do them no good. Those who play with fire will burn themselves. If they refuse to listen to reason and persist in activities which run counter to the interests of the peace and independence of their peoples, if they persist in serving as the accomplices of U.S. imperialism and the enemies of the Indo-Chinese and Asian peoples they will eventually be brought before the bar of justice by history.

The United States Must Be Held Responsible for the Dangerous Situation in Laos

By a *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

(June 3, 1959)

The U.S. State Department, in a statement on May 29, openly defended its moves in instigating the Royal Laotian Government to attack the former Pathet Lao fighting units and tear up the Geneva agreements, and so aggravate the tension in Southeast Asia. It slandered as a "fabrication" the public opinion of different countries which condemned the violation of pledges and obligations by the Laotian authorities. The statement alleged that the United States "is not involved" in the current dangerous situation in Laos and the tension that existed in Southeast Asia had arisen from China's "infiltration, subversion and threats of hostile military action."

These are the usual tactics of the U.S. aggressors, the tactics of a thief crying "Stop thief!" By this absurd statement, the United States tries to whitewash its responsibility and crime of instigating the Royal Laotian Government to tear up the Geneva agreements, launch civil war and endanger peace in Indo-China. But such efforts are futile, for facts are more eloquent than words. A look into the facts will reveal clearly who has conducted "infiltration, subversion and threats of hostile military action" in Laos and Southeast Asian countries

and whether the United States is really "not involved" in the current dangerous situation in Laos.

It is a well-known fact that, in its efforts to turn Laos into a U.S. military base and colony, U.S. imperialism is bitterly hostile to the Geneva agreements which stipulate that Laos will follow a peaceful neutral policy and will not enter into any military alliance or accept foreign military aid. After her failure at the Geneva Conference to prevent the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China, the United States stepped up her efforts to turn south Vietnam into a U.S. military base for aggression while carrying out continuous interference and subversion in Cambodia and Laos. Disregarding the wishes of the people of Indo-China for peace, the United States arbitrarily included these countries in the sphere of "defence" of SEATO, a product of her scheme. In early 1955, violating the Geneva agreements, the United States gave a large amount of military "aid" to the Royal Laotian Government; and for the arrangement of this matter, the former U.S. Secretary of State Dulles personally went to Laos in February, 1955. In the following March, the United States formally set up her foreign aid mission in Laos as an organization to carry out her military, political and economic aggression. From that time up to the first half of 1958, the United States gave to that country U.S. $174 million, the greater part of which constituted military aid. A stream of arms and ammunition came into Laos from the United States and a large number of U.S. military personnel in the guise of "technical personnel" or "employees" arrived to control the armed forces and military bases of Laos.

To completely wreck the Geneva agreements, the United States used all manner of base and underhand

methods and indulged in open interference in Laos' political affairs. She did everything she could to prevent and sabotage the negotiations on peaceful unification held between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao fighting units in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva agreements. Not long after the negotiations began the United States instigated the Laotian pro-American elements to assassinate Laotian Defense Minister Kouvoravong who was in favour of negotiating with the Pathet Lao fighting units, as a result of which the negotiations were interrupted. When the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao fighting units formed a coalition government by agreement, U.S. opposition became more brazen. By discontinuing the "aid," lowering the exchange value of the Laotian currency for the U.S. dollar and engineering splitting activities, the United States brought about the downfall of the Phouma government, which was inclined to pursue a peaceful neutral policy and advocate peaceful unification, and replaced it by the pro-U.S. Sananikone government. Recently, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Walter S. Robertson made a testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in which he spoke about the downfall of the coalition government in Laos and the coming into power of a government "strongly orientated to the free world" and boasted that the U.S. "aid" programme in Laos had been "one of the most successful in the world."

The crisis boiling up over the past few months in Laos is clearly a new development in the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism against that country, and it is entirely the creation of U.S. imperialism. Having stepped into power in August 1958 with U.S. support, Sananikone

immediately put into effect his policy of relying on the United States and openly violating the Geneva agreements. His government also intensified the persecution of the democratic patriotic forces and sabotaged the political agreements on the internal peace and unification. On February 11, 1959 when the Sananikone government stated openly that it would no longer observe the Geneva agreements, U.S. State Department officials immediately voiced their encouragement and declared that thenceforth the United States could freely set up military missions in Laos, that Laos would be enabled to establish closer relations with SEATO and even freely join it. Subsequently, the United States, on the one hand directed SEATO to hold a succession of large-scale military manoeuvres constituting blatant armed threats against countries in Indo-China, and, on the other, mapped out at the SEATO council meeting at Wellington a "blueprint" for aggression in Laos. Since then the Laotian situation has deteriorated rapidly, until May 11 when the perfidious Laotian government put under house arrest Prince Souphanouvong and other leaders of the former Pathet Lao fighting units and, concentrating a large number of armed forces to launch a big attack on the two battalions of the former Pathet Lao fighting units, brazenly started a civil war, thereby breaking the peace in Laos and Indo-China. Can all these things be covered up by lies?

True, the U.S. aggressive schemes against Laos were, under many circumstances, carried out through SEATO and the reactionaries in Thailand and south Viet-nam. It has been no secret that the Sananikone government has colluded with SEATO. The Laotian authorities have many times sent representatives to take part in the

SEATO military exercises. Certain responsible Laotian officials, including the army chief-of-staff Rattakul and the Laotian Ambassador to Thailand, have clamoured that Laos comes within the sphere of defence of SEATO and openly demanded that SEATO come forward to intervene in Laos. Recently, the United States has stepped up its efforts in a major conspiracy to rig up a tripartite military alliance between Thailand, south Viet-nam and Laos with a view to turning south Viet-nam and Laos into *de facto* members of SEATO. In the last few days Laotian Foreign Minister Khamphan Panya visited Saigon, and Thai Foreign Minister Thanad Korman visited Vientiane. This round of comings and goings was for the purpose of putting this U.S. scheme into effect. Reports are now confirmed that a strategic highway crossing the Indo-China peninsula from south Viet-nam to Thailand through Laos is already under construction. At the same time, the United States has selected Lower Laos (the southern part of Laos) to build a new large military base to further threaten the peace and security of the countries of Indo-China and other Southeast Asian countries. Of course, the U.S. State Department can claim that all this has been done, not by the United States, but by the reactionaries in Thailand and south Viet-nam. But who does not know that these reactionaries can do nothing without U.S. support?

The U.S. State Department, in its statement, attempted to shift to the former Pathet Lao fighting units the responsibility for sabotaging the Geneva agreements. This is even more shameless and base. The former Pathet Lao fighting units have faithfully and strictly fulfilled the Geneva agreements on Laos and the various political agreements reached between them and the Royal Laotian

Government in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva agreements. They have handed over the administration of the two provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua and actively carried out the incorporation of their two battalions into the Royal Laotian army. The Royal Laotian Government, on the other hand, has openly repudiated the Geneva agreements, opposed control and supervision by the International Commission in Laos, carried on wanton persecution and arrests of members of the former Pathet Lao fighting units, deprived the members of the Neo Lao Haksat Party of their legitimate right to engage in political activities, and finally put the leaders of the former Pathet Lao fighting units under house arrest and launched civil war. All this has brought about the current grave situation in Laos. Anyone with an ounce of intelligence can tell who is violating the Geneva agreements and endangering peace in Laos and Indo-China.

The scrapping of the Geneva agreements by the Laotian authorities at the instance of the United States has now created a grave situation in Laos and menaced peace in the countries of Indo-China and the Far East. China, being a signatory to the Geneva agreements, has the solemn obligation to safeguard these agreements. China is also a neighbour of Laos and other countries of Indo-China. The U.S. conspiracy to set up a new military alliance in Indo-China for the purpose of creating tension and her instigation of the Laotian authorities to depart from their policy of peaceful neutrality as stipulated in the Geneva agreements, and to violate the agreements on democracy and unification reached between the Laotian authorities and the former Pathet Lao fighting units are aimed at turning Laos into a full U.S. base of aggression

and a colony through pushing that country into civil war and dictatorship. All this cannot but threaten the security of China. Of course, the Chinese people cannot remain indifferent to the increasingly deteriorating situation in Laos.

The U.S. State Department has issued its lying and slanderous statement at a time when the Laotian situation is rapidly worsening. This not only gives open support to the grave step taken by the Laotian Government in launching a civil war but also indicates that the United States will take further steps to interfere in Laos, and sabotage peace in that country and Indo-China. The Laotian authorities have openly cried for "aid" from the "free world"; this is in effect preparing the way for the United States and SEATO bloc to step up their further military interference in Indo-China. This cannot but arouse the vigilance of all countries and peoples concerned with the peace of Indo-China.

Lloyd Defends Laos' Wrecking of the Geneva Agreements in His Reply to Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Letter

On June 22 British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd sent a reply to Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi's letters of February 19 and May 25 addressed to the Soviet Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko and British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd, the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, on the Laotian question. Attached to the British Foreign Secretary's reply are duplicate copies of the British Government's replies on the same question dated April 7 and June 9 to the four notes of the Soviet Government dated February 26, March 21, March 31 and May 30 as well as a copy of the draft of the British and Soviet Governments' reply to the Chinese Foreign Minister's letter dated February 19, which was drafted by the British side.

In the above mentioned replies to the notes and letters, the British Government ignored the facts and arbitrarily held that the actions of the United States and the Laotian Kingdom constituted no violation of the Geneva and Vientiane agreements signed in 1954 and 1957 respectively, nor did they menace the peace in Indo-China.

Besides, in his reply dated June 22 to Foreign Minister Chen Yi, Lloyd even went further to defend the Royal Laotian Government's treachery and its starting of the civil war. He wrote ". . . the Laotian Government, far from violating the Geneva agreements, have been

genuinely attempting to integrate the two ex-Pathet Lao battalions into the Laotian Army in accordance with the agreements which they made with the Pathet Lao in November 1957. It is the fault not of the Laotian Government but of the officers of one of the Battalions that this battalion has not been integrated into the Laotian Army but rather fled into the jungle."

Notwithstanding that the Royal Laotian Government is now continuing its persecution of the leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party and the ex-Pathet Lao fighting units and placing them under surveillance and house arrest, the British Government tried hard to cover it up. The British Foreign Secretary said in his reply to Foreign Minister Chen Yi: ". . . the Laotian Government have announced that the temporary measures of surveillance over members of the Neo Lao Hak Sat and Santhiphab party, to which you refer in your letter of May 25, need no longer be maintained and that these parties may continue to carry on their activities provided that these remain within the framework of constitutional legality."

In the last part of the letter the British Government expressed a view with clearly ulterior motives: ". . . provided all concerned act in all respects strictly in accordance with the Geneva settlement and in particular refrain from interference in the internal affairs of Laos — as laid down in paragraph 12 of the final declaration of the Geneva Conference — peace and stability will be maintained in Laos."

On July 2 British Foreign Secretary Lloyd's reply to Foreign Minister Chen Yi was disclosed by the British Government. Britain's replies to the Soviet Union were also published on June 8 and June 10 respectively.

(Hsinhua News Agency, July 17, 1959)

Comment on Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's Reply

By a *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

(July 18, 1959)

On June 22 British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd sent a letter to Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi, answering his letters of February 19 and May 25 addressed to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference (the Soviet Union and Great Britain) on the Laotian question. It is regrettable that in his reply Mr. Lloyd, instead of expressing willingness to take effective measures with other countries concerned to stop the activities of the United States and the authorities of the Laotian Kingdom which violate the Geneva agreements and sabotage peace in Indo-China, should have twisted the facts. In his reply Mr. Lloyd made desperate efforts to defend the United States and the Royal Laotian Government for their violations of the Geneva agreements. He writes: ". . . The Laotian Government, far from violating the Geneva agreements, has been genuinely attempting to integrate two ex-Pathet Lao battalions into the Laotian army in accordance with the agreements which they made with the Pathet Lao in November 1957." But facts prove the contrary. On May 11 the Laotian army arbitrarily ordered the disarming of the two battalions of the former Pathet Lao fighting units. On May 23 they launched armed attack on them, thus starting the civil war in Laos.

The Royal Laotian Government had therefore not only violated the Geneva agreements to integrate the former Pathet Lao fighting units into the royal army but had completely torn up the Vientiane agreements. Meanwhile it took a further step. On May 13 the Royal Laotian Government issued an order placing Prince Souphanouvong and other leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party and the Pathet Lao fighting units under surveillance and house arrest. The newspaper *Laohaksat* reports that the Royal Laotian Government is now stepping up such illegal actions and the situation is far different from what Mr. Lloyd describes in his reply as one where "the temporary measures of surveillance . . . need no longer be maintained." Prior to these illegal actions the Laotian authorities persecuted a large number of the members of the Neo Lao Haksat Party. The coalition government which had been formed according to the Vientiane agreements, with the participation of representatives of the former Pathet Lao fighting units, was overthrown.

All these acts which have gravely disrupted the Geneva and Vientiane agreements were instigated by the U.S. Government and carried out with its participation. After the Sananikone government announced on February 11 that it was no longer bound by the Geneva agreements an official of the U.S. State Department immediately declared that the United States thereafter was "free" to send a military mission to Laos. Walter S. Robertson, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, admitted that between the United States and the Royal Laotian Government "finally a reform was agreed upon. Now let's take a look at the situation just as it is today. They have gotten rid of two communists (i.e. representatives of the former Pathet Lao fighting units — *Ed.*) that were

in the government." The U.S. authorities were more open in admitting that the United States, ignoring the Geneva agreements and the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Laos, illegally sent large quantities of military supplies and military personnel into the Kingdom of Laos. The U.S. State Department repeatedly raised a hue and cry that it would turn Laos into an American "anti-Communist bulwark" and demand that the Royal Laotian Government should oppose the patriotic democratic forces within the country and abandon peace and neutrality, join the aggressive military bloc instigated by the United States, and eventually turn Laos into an American military base and an instrument to destroy the peace in Indo-China and the Far East.

Such American plots and schemes have already been exposed in a series of words and actions on the part of the Sananikone government. The Laotian Army Chief-of-Staff Rattakul openly clamoured that Laos comes within the scope of the "defence" of the aggressive SEATO bloc, and demanded that this aggressive bloc should intervene in the Viet-nam-Laotian border dispute. This was an attempt to draw the military forces of this aggressive bloc into Laos. Simultaneously the Royal Laotian authorities have been conniving at and colluding with the remnant forces of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in conducting acts of harassment and sabotage on the border areas of the People's Republic of China. They have also been directing the puppet Thai army under Deo Van Long of the former French "Expeditionary Corps" to make troubles and intrusions into the border region of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Laotian army itself has also repeatedly intruded into the border of the Democratic Republic of

Viet-nam, where it created the Huong Lat Incident. The reactionary policy pursued by the United States and the Laotian authorities in tearing up the Geneva and Vientiane agreements has placed Laos, in her internal affairs and international relations, onto an ever more perilous path. Khamphan Panya, Foreign Secretary of Laos, and Thanad Korman, Foreign Minister of Thailand, issued a joint statement on May 29 to the effect that the Kingdom of Laos had the right to join any international or regional organization.

The Geneva agreements are the foundation for peace and security in Indo-China. If the United States is allowed to scrap the Geneva agreements in collusion with the authorities of the Kingdom of Laos and turn Laos into her military base and tool of aggression, not only will national independence and peaceful unification of the country be completely destroyed, but peace and security in Indo-China and the Southeast Asian area will also be seriously threatened. This is why the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, the People's Republic of China and the governments of other countries concerned have time and again expressed serious concern about the dangerous situation in Laos.

Confronted with the situation in Laos, if the British Government was sincerely concerned with preserving peace in Indo-China in co-operation with other countries concerned, it, as a participant in the Geneva Conference and particularly as one of the co-chairmen of the conference, should have adopted, together with the Soviet Union, the other chairman, an active and responsible attitude, putting a stop to the sabotage by the United States and the Laotian authorities and preserving the Geneva agreements. It could, at least, together with the

Soviet Union, do something to help the International Commission established under the Geneva agreements restore its activities of supervision and control in Laos, instead of denying the facts, looking on at the deterioration of the Laotian situation with folded arms and trying to find excuses for U.S. and Laotian sabotage of the Geneva agreements. What is more surprising is that the British Government has even gone so far as to claim that resumption of the activities of the International Commission in Laos would be interference in the internal affairs of Laos, although it is well aware that all the activities of the International Commission in Laos are intended to preserve the Geneva agreements and peace in Indo-China. All those countries which participated in the Geneva Conference, and first of all the Royal Laotian Government, are under the obligation to observe and preserve these international agreements. None are allowed to abrogate them unilaterally. The arguments of the British Government therefore do not hold water. Precisely as the spokesman of the Viet-nam Foreign Ministry pointed out in his statement issued on July 8, "The British allegations are not in keeping with the facts in Laos, and do not meet the urgent need of the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Laos." In fact the British allegations play the vicious role of shielding and conniving at the U.S. and Laotian authorities' serious crime in wrecking the Geneva and Vientiane agreements.

We hold that if the British Government is ready to face the facts, instead of deliberately distorting and obscuring them, it can and should, as one of the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, take measures in co-operation with the Soviet Government and other countries concerned that will help ease the present ten-

sion in Laos. On the other hand, if the British Government continues to acquiesce in and connive at the sabotage of the Geneva agreements by the United States and the Royal Laotian Government, it will have to share the blame for the further deterioration of the Laotian situation.

Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on the U.S.-Created Tension in Laos

(August 12, 1959)

A spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, commenting on the situation in Laos, declared on August 12 that the U.S.-created tension in Laos will be eliminated only when the United States and the Sananikone government cease their activities against the Geneva and Vientiane agreements, withdraw all American military personnel, arms and ammunition from Laos and scrap all American military bases in that country, and when the normal control and supervisory functions of the International Commission are resumed and the Geneva and Vientiane agreements are thoroughly implemented.

The spokesman pointed out that the responsibility for the recent further deterioration in the Laotian situation rests solely with the U.S. State Department and the Sananikone government of Laos. In order to wipe out completely the patriotic and democratic forces in Laos and turn Laos into a full-scale U.S. military base, the United States has instigated the Sananikone government to continue to extend the civil war, arrest the leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat (Laotian Patriotic Party) and launch a nation-wide campaign of terror and repression against members of the former Pathet Lao fighting units and

Laotian patriots and democrats. The United States has also got the Laotian authorities to sign the French-Laotian joint communique, and so enable large numbers of American military personnel openly to enter Laos and take control over the Laotian army. American officers now have under their control the training and command of the Laotian army, from its headquarters down to each military area. At U.S. instigation, the Laotian authorities' collusion with the remnant armed forces of the Chiang Kai-shek clique has been increased. The United States has also induced the Laotian authorities to conclude a series of agreements with Thailand and south Viet-nam to facilitate the introduction of American arms into Laos, and tried to draw Laos step by step into the system of U.S. military blocs militarily, politically and economically by means of these bilateral agreements. It is, moreover, stepping up the establishment and expansion of military bases and centres for dispatching special agents in areas bordering on China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam.

These activities of the United States and the Sananikone government seriously violate the 1954 Geneva agreements and the 1957 Vientiane agreements and are the root cause of the present tension in Laos, the spokesman stressed. The U.S. State Department's slanderous charges against China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam are the clumsy trick of a thief crying "stop thief!"

The spokesman described as nothing but sheer sophistry the U.S. State Department's pretense that Laos, with its population of only about two million, cannot be a menace to the security of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam. He said: nobody considers the Laotian people a menace to the peoples of China and Viet-

nam, just as the Chinese and Viet-namese peoples have never been a menace to the Laotian people. Historically, we have always lived in peace with Laos. China, Viet-nam and Laos would have been able to live together in peace in accordance with the Geneva agreements and the Bandung spirit and become close friendly neighbours, had the U.S. imperialists not supported and instigated the Sananikone government of Laos to sabotage the Geneva agreements, depart from the road of peace and neutrality, adopt a policy of hostility towards China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, and allow the United States to establish and expand its military bases in Laos and introduce military forces into Laos. However, in order to realize its ambition to extend aggression and intervention in Indo-China and menace China, the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam and those Southeast Asian countries which pursue a policy of peace and neutrality, the United States has persistently sought to turn Laos into an American military base and drag it step by step into the aggressive SEATO bloc. This naturally poses a threat to China and Viet-nam, as well as to the peace of the whole of Southeast Asia. In its statement of August 5, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam solemnly condemned the United States and the Sananikone government for repudiating the Geneva and Vientiane agreements. The Chinese Government and people fully support this statement.

The spokesman further pointed out that to involve other countries in its dirty activities of aggression and intervention in Laos and save itself from isolation, the United States, along with the Sananikone government, is scheming to bring up the Laotian question in the United Nations. This scheme in itself is a violation

of the Geneva and the Vientiane agreements, because what is involved in Laos is that the Laotian authorities must faithfully implement the Geneva and the Vientiane agreements; this is a question which concerns the two parties to the Vientiane agreements and the countries participating in the Geneva Conference and one in which the United Nations has no right at all to intervene.

The Chinese Government and people are watching closely the daily deteriorating situation in Laos, the spokesman concluded. All activities of the U.S. Government and the Laotian authorities violating the Geneva agreements and creating tension in Indo-China, and further menacing the security of China, will certainly face the firm opposition of the Chinese Government and people. The U.S. Government and the Laotian authorities must bear full responsibility for the consequences of their activities.

Stop the U.S. Crimes in Expanding the Civil War in Laos!

By a *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

(August 31, 1959)

The U.S. intervention in Laos has become more and more brazen and flagrant in the last few days. The U.S. Department of Defense and State Department have held many top-level meetings to plan further intervention in Laos. On August 26 the U.S. State Department openly declared its decision to grant "emergency aid" in the form of arms and military equipment to the Phoui Sananikone government, in an effort to spread the war flames in Laos. The next day, the U.S. Department of Defense announced that the U.S. would airlift "emergency supplies" to Laos, and that the U.S. Pacific Commander Admiral Felt had been given the job of carrying out the decision. At the same time the spokesman of the U.S. State Department, White, said that the U.S. had also taken steps to help the Royal Laotian Army improve its maneuverability. At present U.S. military personnel and supplies are continually flowing into Laos. Such interventionist actions of the U.S. are clearly a wanton violation of the Geneva agreements and present an ever-growing threat to peace in Indo-China.

Moreover, the United States is working hard to engineer SEATO intervention in the Laotian civil war. The

forthcoming meeting of the SEATO countries to be held in Washington at the end of September will reportedly draw up a new "blueprint" for their intervention in Laos. Particularly worthy of note is the fact that at U.S. instigation the Laotian authorities and the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan are scheming together more closely. The Chiang Kai-shek clique has sent aircraft to Laos. Secret talks are being conducted between the military authorities of both parties, and the Laotian Vice-Minister of Social Affairs, now "visiting" Taiwan, has talked a great deal about Laotian-Chiang "co-operation" in the fight against communism. It is crystal clear that U.S. imperialists are making great efforts to expand the fighting and complicate the situation in Laos with a view to extending their control over Laos and the Southeast Asian region, thus posing a threat to the security of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam.

While intensifying its intervention in Laos and trying hard to expand the civil war there, the U.S. has brazenly spread the lie that "the Communists threaten Laos" and "sabotage the security and stability of Laos." However, such lies designed by the U.S. Government and the Laotian authorities to cover up their crime of wrecking the Geneva agreements and starting civil war in Laos went bankrupt long ago. It was admitted even by Sir Francis Festing, the Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, that reports about "north Viet-nam intervention" are quite groundless, as "available evidence did not justify reports that troops were entering Laos from north Viet-nam." In an August 10 dispatch, Agence France Presse also reported that up to the present "there has been no proof that they (the Pathet Lao fighting

units) were getting war material from abroad." Thus it can be seen that foreign intervention in Laos and the threat to that country come from the U.S. and its hangers-on, and from them alone. On August 26, the *Wall Street Journal* frankly admitted that U.S. intervention in Laos is part of its "policy of global intervention." It is precisely such intervention that has aggravated the "disputes" in Laos.

In order to eliminate tension in Laos and save peace in that country, it is necessary to put an immediate stop to the crimes of the U.S. imperialists in intervening and expanding the civil war in Laos, and to restore the normal activities of the International Commission in Laos so as to ensure the thorough implementation of the Geneva and Vientiane agreements. If the U.S. imperialists and the Laotian authorities continue to push the Laotian situation onto a dangerous path, they must bear the full responsibility for all serious consequences.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Condemns U.S. Threat to China and Viet-nam by Inciting and Expanding the Civil War in Laos

(Excerpts of a Speech at the Reception Given by the Vietnamese Charge d'Affaires ad interim to Celebrate the National Day of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam)

(September 2, 1959)

Vice-Premier Chen Yi severely condemned recent U.S. conspiracies in Laos and throughout Indo-China in a speech at the reception given by the Viet-namese Charge d'Affaires ad interim Pham Binh to celebrate the 14th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam on September 2.

He declared: "Like the other socialist countries, the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam is a peace-loving country. It has strictly observed the Geneva agreements, made active efforts for the peaceful unification of Viet-nam and persistently and untiringly made contributions towards lessening the international tension. However, the U.S. imperialists, persisting in their policy of war and aggression, have all along sabotaged the Geneva agreements, obstructed the peaceful unification of Viet-nam and continued to create tension in Indo-China. Of late, the United States openly instigated the Sananikone government of Laos to sabotage the Geneva agreements, to repudiate the Vientiane agreements the Laotian Government concluded with the former Pathet Lao fighting units,

and to unleash and extend the civil war. Simultaneously, the United States has incited Laos to conclude a series of agreements with Thailand and south Viet-nam which are virtually military alliances and meant to draw Laos further into the U.S. military bloc; at the same time, it is sending U.S. military personnel and arms to Laos and setting up and expanding near the borders of China and Viet-nam U.S. military bases and centres from which special agents are sent out.

"As a participant of the Geneva Conference and a close neighbour of Laos, China firmly demands that U.S. activities menacing the security of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam and jeopardizing peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia be stopped; the Geneva and Vientiane agreements observed. and the independence, unification, peace and neutrality of Laos guaranteed in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva agreements."

"The imperialists and the reactionaries in various countries," Vice-Premier Chen Yi continued, "are used to covering up their own aggressive activities and other ulterior motives by slandering the socialist countries with charges of aggression and intervention. But, latterly these slanders against China have been particularly unbridled."

"However," the Vice-Premier stressed, "world opinion will not be hoodwinked. China has never encroached on other countries, nor will she tolerate encroachment by other countries.

"In international affairs, we always stand for the settlement of disputes between nations through peaceful negotiations, and for peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition between countries with different social systems. This is our steadfast policy, and no amount of rumours or slanders can blot it out."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Speech at the Reception Given by the Bulgarian Ambassador Celebrating the Bulgarian National Day (Excerpts)

(September 9, 1959)

The current international situation is favourable for the peace-loving countries and peoples the world over, but what deserves our attention is that a handful of people in the U.S. ruling circles who are against the easing of international tension are instigating the reactionary clique of Laos to put forward to the United Nations the so-called issue of "invasion" of Laos by the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam and request the United Nations to dispatch "emergency troops" to Laos so that they may extend the war entirely concocted by them in Laos and poison the international atmosphere.

The Democratic Republic of Viet-nam has always strictly observed the Geneva agreements; it has been unflagging in its efforts to maintain peace in Indo-China. No amount of slander or fabrications can alter this incontrovertible fact. We fully support the September 9 statement issued by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam on the decision of the U.N. Security Council to establish a so-called committee to investigate the situation in Laos.

The real issue in Laos is that the Laotian authorities should faithfully implement the Geneva and Vientiane

agreements. The United Nations has no right whatever to meddle in the Laotian situation. Any attempt to use the United Nations to interfere in the Laotian question will only aggravate tension in this area and is unfavourable to a solution of that question.

We hold that the United States must withdraw its military personnel from Laos and dismantle its military bases there and that the International Commission in Laos under the chairmanship of India resume its activities for the maintenance of peace in Laos.

U.S. Must Not Be Allowed to Usurp the Name of the United Nations to Intervene in Laos

By a *Renmin Ribao* Commentator

(September 10, 1959)

The United States is usurping the name of the United Nations to engineer a new conspiracy of intervention in Laos. This cannot but arouse serious attention on the part of the peace-loving people of the whole world. On September 4, the Phoui Sananikone government of Laos, instigated by the United States, falsely accused the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam of "aggression" and openly requested the U.N. to dispatch an "emergency force" to carry out military intervention in Laos. The next day, the U.S. Department of State issued a statement firmly backing up the request of the Laotian authorities. The day after that, the U.S. representative at the United Nations Security Council put forward a proposal to dispatch a so-called "fact-finding commission" to conduct "investigations" in Laos. And on September 8, manipulated by the U.S. and in defiance of the resolute opposition of the representative of the Soviet Union and in violation of the U.N. Charter, the U.N. Security Council illegally adopted the U.S. proposal. Meanwhile, the Laotian authorities have been begging for "aid" from SEATO, and SEATO members have been called to a meeting to discuss the request for "aid" to the Laotian authorities. All this shows that the U.S. is bent on extending the civil war in

Laos and making the Laotian situation still more complicated and dangerous.

On September 5, the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam issued a statement, denouncing this new conspiracy of U.S. imperialism to aggravate the tension in Laos. On September 6, the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, Pham Van Dong, cabled the two chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, the Soviet Foreign Minister, A. Gromyko, and the British Foreign Secretary, S. Lloyd, once more calling their attention to the very grave current situation in Laos and urging them to adopt measures to check the U.S. intervention and stop the civil war in Laos. On the same day, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong sent a telegram to the United Nations, clarifying the Laotian situation, rightly denouncing the brazen slanders of the U.S. and the Laotian Sananikone clique against the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam and very reasonably pointed out that, for the sake of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the whole world, the United Nations should refute the slanderous fabrication of the Phoui Sananikone government and reject its unreasonable request. The Chinese people firmly support the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam on the Laotian question to safeguard the Geneva agreements and peace in the Far East.

It is known to all that the civil war in Laos was brought about solely by the activities of U.S. imperialism over recent months. Some four months ago, the Sananikone clique, under the instigation of the United States, tore up the Geneva agreements and kindled the civil war. Since then, the Sananikone clique with the active support of the United States has adopted a series of measures

to extend the civil war and launch "military mopping-up" operations and campaigns of brutal suppression in various parts of Laos. The former Pathet Lao fighting units and patriotic people in many parts of Laos, no longer able to endure such repression, took up arms in self-defence to oppose the Sananikone government's traitorous policy of plundering the country and robbing the people, of repudiating the Geneva agreements and betraying the national interests of Laos. They demanded that the Phoui Sananikone government should observe the Geneva and Vientiane agreements, set free the arrested leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party and restore democracy and liberty in the country. This is the true picture of the Laotian situation which allows of no distortion. But at present the United States and the Sananikone government are, with a guilty conscience, falsely accusing the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam of "aggression." They spread rumours that "if" the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam had not participated and given "support," the Laotian people's self-defence armed forces would not have been able to defeat the U.S. equipped Sananikone troops. This is the blackest falsehood. The Sananikone government of Laos is opposed by the broad sections of the Laotian people because it is executing the reactionary U.S. policy of undermining the Geneva agreements. At a recent press conference Laotian Foreign Minister Panya admitted the fact of "the people's movement in support of Pathet Laos." Sananikone himself has also repeatedly issued statements threatening the Laotian people who are flocking to join the former Pathet Lao fighting units. All these statements admitted that "great numbers of people have joined" the former Pathet Lao fighting units and that

"the demobilized personnel of the former Pathet Lao fighting units" are also taking part in the struggle of self-defence. Even the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* correspondent in Vientiane acknowledged in his report that things in Sam Neua and Phong Saly Provinces are in a "bad state," because the people's self-defence armed forces "will undoubtedly get every support they need from the local inhabitants." Facts are crystal clear that what is going on in Laos is a civil war and there is absolutely no question of "aggression" by the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam. Not long ago, the Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, Francis Festing admitted that there was no reliable evidence of so-called interference from north Viet-nam. The *Washington Post* correspondent reported on September 2 that high officials of the British and French Governments agreed that so far there was no evidence of Communist intervention from outside Laos.

The very fact that the U.S. and the Sananikone government have chosen this time to suddenly submit false charges at the U.N. against the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam exposes the U.S. plot to usurp the flag of the United Nations for the purpose of carrying out direct military intervention in Laos. A UPI dispatch of September 5 from Washington exposes this U.S. conspiracy, saying that the first step the United States is going to take is to have the U.N. dispatch a delegation to Laos for "investigations." The second step will be to have the U.N. adopt a resolution on the dispatch of an "emergency force." The third will be to enable members of SEATO to send in armed forces clothed with U.N. authority, thus giving the U.S. the "direct right" to carry out "military intervention" in Laos. Recently U.S. Department of State openly declared that the transport and supply of military equip-

ments to Laos would be intensified, and streams of U.S. military personnel have entered Laos. Thus a stronger grip is being laid on Laos and U.S. intervention in this country is being intensified. While the U.S. and the Sananikone clique are scheming to make use of the U.N. to carry out intervention, the U.S. naval and air chiefs are shouting for war. U.S. Pacific Fleet Commander Admiral Felt clamoured: "All forces in the (U.S.) Pacific Command are watching the (Laotian) situation carefully." If needed, he went on to say, the U.S. Pacific Fleet could at any time intervene in any area in the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia. The U.S. Strategic Air Command Admiral Everest also announced that his troops under the Strategic Air Command could enter Laos within 35 hours after the Government had made a decision. Besides, the SEATO bloc under the direction of its U.S. boss is stepping up co-ordinated war preparations. Thus, it is not difficult to understand that the false charges of "aggression" on the part of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam made by the Laotian Sananikone government to the U.N. is solely the handiwork of the U.S., aimed at creating tension so as to facilitate open military intervention by the U.S. aggressive forces and at turning Laos into a U.S. base to extend aggression against the countries in Indo-China and Southeast Asia and menace peace in the Far East.

It is very obvious that to ease the current dangerous situation in Laos and uphold peace in Indo-China, the Royal Laotian Government must implement the Geneva and Vientiane agreements; the U.S. must immediately withdraw all its military personnel from Laos and give up its military bases in that country. To ensure the implementation of the Geneva agreements, which constitute

the foundations for peace in Indo-China, the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos should immediately resume its activities and continue to shoulder its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace in Laos. The United Nations has no right whatsoever to interfere in the Laotian situation.

Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Situation in Laos

(September 15, 1959)

The Government of the Soviet Union, on September 14, 1959, issued a statement on the situation in Laos, pointing out that the crux of the present situation in Laos is that certain circles of the Western powers are attempting to use the Laotian question to obstruct the relaxation of international tension and are proceeding to tear up completely the Geneva agreements, which constitute the only legal ground for the settlement of the Laotian question and maintenance of peace in Indo-China, by the illegal measure of dispatching there a so-called "fact-finding group" in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. In order to ease international tension and settle the Laotian question peacefully, the Soviet Government proposed to call quickly a meeting of the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China to discuss the situation in Laos. The Government of the People's Republic of China deems this major peace proposal of the Soviet Government to be reasonable and opportune, and, in the capacity of a participant of the 1954 Geneva Conference, expresses full support for it.

In its statements issued on February 18, May 18 and August 12 this year, the Government of the People's

Republic of China has pointed out that the rapid deterioration of the situation in Laos is due entirely to the acts of the United States. On the very morrow of the day (February 11) that the Sananikone government, under U.S. instigation, repudiated the Geneva agreements on Laos, the U.S. Department of State issued a statement on February 12 backing up this illegal action of the Sananikone government and expressing the view that henceforth the United States could "freely" set up a military mission in Laos. After the Sananikone government on May 11 ordered the disarming of the former Pathet Lao fighting units and launched armed attack on them, thus starting the civil war in Laos, the United States again supported and instigated the Laotian authorities in many ways to carry out new military schemes. Under U.S. direction, the Laotian authorities have entered into collusion with Thailand, a member of the Manila military bloc, and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique of south Viet-nam, concluding with them a series of secret agreements of a military nature, in an attempt to form a tripartite military alliance, and turn Laos and south Viet-nam into candidate members of the Manila bloc. On July 23, Laos signed an agreement with France, in which it even "asked for" assistance from so-called "U.S. military experts." On July 29, the Laotian authorities ordered the arrest of nine leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party, including Prince Souphanouvong, and launched a nation-wide persecution campaign against the former Pathet Lao fighting units and the members of the Neo Lao Haksat Party. On August 27, the United States declared that it would provide the Laotian Government with arms and other military equipment. The above-mentioned series of

actions in crude violation of the Geneva agreements have brought about the extremely serious situation in Laos.

As pointed out by the Government of the People's Republic of China on many occasions, and as mentioned in the statement of the Soviet Government, to which it fully agrees, a solution of the tension which has arisen in the area of Laos can and should be sought on the basis and within the scope of the Geneva agreements, because the Geneva agreements are the foundation of the peace and security of Indo-China. In order to promote an early settlement of the Laotian question, the Chinese Government has proposed to the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, and the Indian Government, Chairman of the International Commission in Laos, the prompt resumption of the activities of the International Commission in Laos. The Chinese Government fully endorses the proposal of the Soviet Government to call quickly a meeting of the participants of the 1954 Geneva Conference, and holds that the meeting should hear the report and suggestions of the International Commission in Laos. In order to ease the situation in Laos, the convocation of such a meeting brooks no delay. The Chinese Government is deeply convinced that the Geneva Conference which restored peace in Indo-China will surely be able to play once again its due role in normalizing the situation in Laos. The Chinese Government hopes that the governments and peoples of all the countries which are concerned for the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and which desire to see the relaxation of international tension will unanimously support this major peace proposal of the Soviet Government and work for its speedy realization.

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